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THE TRAGEDY OF LATINUS¹

Even a casual reader of Vergil's Aeneid does not fail to recognize, among the many evidences of the poet's familiarity with Greek tragedy, the Bacchic frenzy of Amata and her Latin women and the suicide by hanging which ends the life of the unhappy queen². A more thoughtful reader notes also how tragically the story ends for the modest princess, Lavinia; for, as Mr. Warde Fowler points out³, it was probably a genuine love-match between Lavinia and Turnus. Therefore, when her beautiful, impetuous young lover is slain and leaves the girl to be the bride of Aeneas, middle-aged and *pius*, one feels with fresh poignancy the cruel lot of princesses, ancient and modern. But most tragic of all is Latinus, whose clear and correct convictions always just fail to materialize in action; aghast and hesitating still he stands at his last appearance in the story (12. 656-658). All his impressive grandeur becomes abject and pitiable helplessness when once he ceases to be ruling in *placida pace*.

But, even though one may have felt a tragic quality in all the members of this family, including the only son who had died in youth, one does not ordinarily realize how dramatic is the form in which Vergil has cast their story. Almost of itself the tale of the house of Latinus falls into a tragic drama in five acts. It supplies to the latter half of the Aeneid⁴ what the Dido story contributed to the earlier half, and both tragedies follow with perfect naturalness in the wake of a hero whose almost superhuman singleness of purpose keeps him to the goal set by fate. The Latinus tragedy is more thoroughly wrought into the fabric of the Aeneid than is the episodic Dido story. On the very night of the fall of Troy the shade of Creusa foretells (2. 780-784) the long wanderings which are to end in Hesperia by Lydian Tiber, where a prosperous

kingdom and a royal bride are already prepared for Aeneas. There is not one of the first six books of the poem in which we do not hear more or less of the goal of the Trojans, the city Lavinium, the *gens dura atque aspera cultu* which must be conquered in that Western land, so that, when the Latinus-drama opens in Book 7, we know at once that we have finally reached the scene of those events foretold from the beginning of the wanderings.

I have said that the story of the house of Latinus falls almost of itself into a tragic drama in five acts. The reason why this fact does not swiftly disclose itself to the reader is that, in their connection with the whole poem, the events involving Latinus's family are necessarily rather long-drawn-out, and it is only in a rapid reading of the latter six books that one becomes aware of the drama which they include; whereas the Dido story is much more compactly narrated, all its essential parts being closely knit together in Book 4 and a part of Book 1. From the following outline of the drama which can be constructed about Latinus on the basis of Vergil's narrative, it will be apparent that the compiler of such a drama need make only a few changes in the Latin poet's own words, changes so slight and insignificant as to be practically negligible.

The setting of the drama is given in a prologue of sixty-four lines, early in Book 7 (36-40; 45-84; 96-106; 148-155), relating the essential facts about all the principal characters: Latinus, his origin and his status; the portents involving his daughter's future; Amata's passionate support of the suitor, Turnus; the landing of Aeneas and the sending of one hundred Trojan *oratores* to Latinus, to bear gifts and to ask that a peaceful reception to Latium be granted to the strangers.

Act I consists of two scenes, the first in the ancient audience-chamber⁵ of the Latin kings. In the first scene, Latinus, sitting on his throne, has summoned to his presence the Trojan *oratores* (7. 192-193). He asks them (195-198) why they have come to Ausonia. He bids them (199-211) accept hospitality from the descendants of Saturn; it was from these fields that their ancestor, Dardanus, had emigrated Eastward. Ilioneus, in his accustomed rôle as spokesman for the Trojans, replies (213-248), telling of their origin, their wanderings, their leader, of the great cataclysmic war in which Europe and Asia had met, of the desire of the Trojans for a scanty abode on this shore they have at last reached, for only in Latium are they permitted by

¹This paper was read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Hunter College, April 23, 1921.

²In his recent work, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), Carcopino argues (pages 363-387) that Vergil has borrowed from a priestess of the early cults of Lavinium the name and the traits of Amata, and that the orgies over which the queen presides are taken from a local festival, the *Liberalia* of Lavinium, in which a goddess of fertility was worshipped by maidens and had as her symbol a divine serpent. The parallels in appearance and behavior worked out, but they are pushed to an extreme limit. Carcopino himself claims nothing more than that these rites furnished Vergil with 'local color' in the Amata episode; he seems not to question the influence of Greek models (363-364).

³The Death of Turnus, 40-41.

⁴Probably no one will deny that Turnus is the tragic figure of the last six books of the Aeneid (on this point see Professor E. K. Rand's paper, *Vergil and the Drama*, *The Classical Journal* 4, 51-61, especially 56-58, 60). Moreover, Vergil's dramatic sense is everywhere apparent in his treatment of Turnus, but Turnus's story does not fall into the form of a tragic drama to any such extent as does the Latinus story. In a word, to one making, as I am in this paper, a point of Vergil's technique, the Latinus story is far more significant than is that of Turnus.

⁵Of the building in which this chamber was we have a detailed description in 7. 168-186. It was the palace of Picus, partly *curia*, partly *templum*, and was situated on the highest ground of the city. It is not plain whether or not the palace of Latinus which is the site of Act I, Scene 2 (7. 341 ff.) was connected with this building, or was an entirely different building.

the Fates to rest. After careful thought (249-258) Latinus joyfully grants their request, accepts their gifts, and declares his belief that Aeneas is the husband destined for his daughter (259-273). He dismisses the *oratores* with the gift of a chariot and a pair of fire-breathing steeds for Aeneas, and with sleek, richly-caparisoned horses for all the *oratores* (274-285).

In Scene 2 Amata enters, already slightly under the influence of the Fury, Allecto, whom Juno has sent (7. 323 ff.) to sow discord and to cheat the Trojans of their longed-for rest. Amata tearfully protests (357-379) to Latinus at giving their daughter to exile Trojans, at breaking his word plighted to Turnus, who can, quite as truly as Aeneas, claim foreign origin, if the Fates require this. Failing to move her husband, and being more and more permeated by the influence of the Fury, the maddened queen rushes through the city to the forest, where she will hide her daughter (375-388). The Latin women, also maddened, follow Amata, who carries a blazing torch and, crying *Euohe Bacche*, bids her train join her orgies (389-405)⁶.

In Act II we have a complete and dramatic reversal of the situation presented in Act I. The first of the two scenes takes place at midnight in the lofty chamber of Turnus at Ardea (7. 406-414)⁷. The Fury, Allecto, appears to him in a dream. She has assumed the form of a wrinkled old woman, Calybe, priestess of Juno; her white hair is bound with a fillet and with sacerdotal olive (415-420). She warns Turnus (421-434) that Latinus is discarding him for a strange son-in-law, that Turnus must arm himself and show his real power to Latinus. With characteristic impatience the youth bids the old woman stop inventing fears, since royal Juno is not careless of his interests; let Calybe mind her temple-duties and leave wars for warriors (436-444). Then the Fury in the old woman blazes up (445); the young warrior is terrified at her flaming eyes and the hissing serpents that raise themselves in her hair (446-451). As she announces her true nature and fixes her smoking torches in his breast, the maddened youth awakes and rushes forth, calling for his arms and his men and declaring that he is a match for both Trojans and Latins (452-470).

The second scene of Act II takes place before the palace of Turnus. A company of shepherds enter, bearing the dead bodies of Almo and Galaesus (7. 573-575), entreating the gods and calling Latinus to witness what has happened. He appears from the palace, and one of the shepherds tells⁸ about the wounding of Sylvia's pet stag and the resulting fight between Trojans and Latins (483-504; 519-539). Turnus rushes in and cries that the Trojans are being called to a share in the kingdom, while he is being repulsed (577-579). All surround the palace and demand war (583-585). Firm as a rock at first Latinus ultimately yields and cries:

⁶Dramatic force is gained by thus compressing the action of these thirty lines (7. 375-405), and no real violence is thereby done to the narrative.

⁷This is the only scene which does not occur in Latinus's city or close to its walls.

⁸In the Aeneid this narrative is related by the poet.

'Broken, alas! by fate are we and borne along by the blast of the storm. You, O my wretched people, shall pay the penalty for this with accursed blood. For you, O Turnus, impious thought, for you sad punishment shall be in store and with your vows will you honor the gods too late. For me, my rest is secured. I am on the harbor's edge. Of a happy death am I being robbed'.

Then the king shuts himself up in the palace and abandons control of things (586-600). The gates of war are opened and clans gather for the great conflict (601-817)⁹.

Act III, though the longest of all the acts, consists of a single scene in the palace of Latinus. The Latini have suffered defeat in the great battle of Book 10. The armistice which Aeneas has granted (11. 100-138) for the burial of the dead is not yet over. In the city women and children are weeping and cursing the war and the marriage of Turnus; he, they say, should fight it out himself (11. 213-219); Drances is especially vehement in this demand (220-221). Others, however, take Turnus's part, as a result of the influence of the queen and the fame of his own brave deeds (222-224). In the midst of this tumult *legati* arrive, bearing Diomedes's unfavorable reply to the Latin request for aid against the Trojans (225-230). *Deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus* (231); he summons many leaders to a council and presides *haud laeta fronte* (234-238). He bids (238-240) Venulus tell everything that Diomedes had said. Briefly, the Greek had refused to help against the Trojans because he and all who ever had opposed them had found them such terrible foes; he advised the *legati* to bear to Aeneas the gifts which they had brought to him and to be warned by the testimony of one who knew whereof he spoke (252-293). When the murmur of the people subsides (296-300), Latinus speaks (301-335) from the throne, regretting that they must deliberate about their policy when the enemy is already at their gates. He blames no one for the situation; he is himself still uncertain what to do, but he will set forth what seems to him wise. He would offer the Trojans this choice, land on which to settle, or ships in which to sail away from Latium. This offer he would make through one hundred *oratores*, *prima de gente*, bearing gifts of gold and ivory and the *sella* and the *trabea*, *insignia* of the Latin power.

Then Drances, whose envy of Turnus goads him on, warmly supports this proposition of the king (334-335), and attacks Turnus as the cause of all their troubles (346-375). 'The war has been for Turnus's personal, selfish ends. Why should so many men die for him? Let Turnus fight for himself!'. At these words the *violentia* of Turnus breaks forth (378-444) against 'the windy wordiness of Drances and his faintheartedness. The Latins may yet win the day. Even if Diomedes refuses aid, there are Messapus and Tolumnius and many other leaders, especially the Volscian Camilla with her gleaming squadrons. But, if the Trojans desire a combat between Aeneas and Turnus, Turnus is ready for that'.

⁹The conclusion of this scene can be made more or less elaborate according to the period of drama which one has in mind.

While this dispute is going on, word comes (445-450) that the Trojans are drawn up in line from the Tiber and the Tuscans are descending through the plain. There is great confusion, a hasty call to arms by warriors, a tremulous weeping of the *patres* (451-458). Turnus, seizing the critical moment, rushes from the council, with these brief but scornful words—*cogite concilium et pacem laudate sedentes: illi armis in regna ruunt* (459-461). The meeting is broken up by the departure of Latinus, accusing himself of not having received Aeneas as his son-in-law (469-472). The trumpet-call to battle sounds, a procession of women passes, going to the temple of Pallas and chanting a prayer to her (473-485)¹⁰.

Act IV shows the palace of Turnus again, just after the second great defeat, described in Book II. Turnus sees (12. 1-9) that the time for his single combat with Aeneas has come. Excitedly he addresses Latinus (10-17), saying that there is no delay in Turnus, no excuse for the Trojans to break their contract; Latinus must sacrifice and seal a treaty; Turnus will send Aeneas down to Tartarus or else Aeneas shall be victor and have Lavinia as his wife. Quietly Latinus reasons with Turnus (19-45), reminding the youth that he has a splendid realm from his father, Daunus, which he himself has increased by victories. Latinus is willing to give him gold and there are other highborn virgins in Latium besides Lavinia.

'It had been against the will of heaven for Latinus to give his daughter to any of the Italian nobles; weakness had caused him to yield to the tears of Amata¹¹ and all the disasters of the succeeding conflict had been due to this impiety. If Turnus is killed, Latinus will then make an alliance with the Trojans. Why should he not do it at once? The Rutuli and all Italy will not pardon Latinus for the death of their prince and aged Daunus deserves pity'.

Stiffly the youth bids Latinus 'lay aside his care for Turnus, who knows how to deal bloody blows. Even Aeneas's goddess-mother will not be at hand with her protecting cloud'. Amata, terrified and weeping, clings to Turnus (54-55) and begs him (56-63) not to fight the Trojans, for he is the safety of the kingdom of Latinus: if Turnus dies, she will die too. The youth fixes his gaze on the blushing Lavinia, but his heart, though stirred by love, burns the more for war (64-71). He bids Amata (72-80) not to send him into battle with such an unhappy omen: Idmon is ordered to announce to Aeneas that Turnus will be ready for the combat at dawn. Turnus rushes in *tecta* and demands his swift horses (81-82).

In Act V we have the speedy culmination of the tragedy foreshadowed in Act IV. The first scene occurs close to the city walls (12. 116), where a space has been measured off for the combat of Aeneas and Turnus. In the center are grassy altars; attendants are bringing fire and water, *velati limo et verbera*

tempora victi (119-120). Both armies are assembled here before dawn (113; 172); the leading men hurry to and fro, in gold and purple (126); old men, women, and children crowd the walls and the roofs of the city (131-133). Onto the field come riding in their chariots Latinus, in a gleaming crown with twelve golden rays, and Turnus, brandishing his iron spears (161-165), on the other side Aeneas, in his celestial arms, with young Ascanius (166-169). A priest in unspotted raiment begins the sacrifice and the solemn ceremony (169-171). With drawn sword Aeneas prays, declaring that, if victory comes to Turnus, the Trojans will retire to Evander's city and never trouble the Latins more; if Aeneas wins, Latins and Trojans shall be united on equal terms, Latinus the military head, Aeneas the religious head of the State. With equal solemnity Latinus swears (197-211) to abide by these terms; he swears by earth and sea and stars, by the two-fold offspring of Latona, by Janus and the power of the gods below, by Jove of the thunderbolt.

The sacrifice is finished, the *reges* depart, when (Scene 2) Turnus quietly approaches the altar, pale, with downcast eyes (218-221). Then his sister, Juturna, in the form of a warrior (222-224), taunts (229-237) the Rutuli with 'letting one man risk his life for all of them. By this means Turnus will win immortal glory, while they will become slaves of the Trojans'. The people call for arms, wish that the treaty had not been made, and pity the unjust fate of Turnus (241-243). Then occurs the portent¹² of the swar and the eagle, than which nothing could have been better calculated to incite the murmuring host to break the treaty so solemnly sealed in the preceding scene. Immediately Tolumnius, augur, crying that this is the answer to his prayers, bids the people seize their weapons and defend their prince (258-265). Running forward, he hurls his spear among the enemy. In a moment battle is precipitated (266-269), the altars are torn to pieces (283), and there is a rain of weapons (284). Latinus is seen fleeing, 'bearing off his routed gods, the treaty all undone' (285-286).

The last scene brings us back to the palace of Latinus. From outside is heard the noise of the attack and of the people who swarm in like bees (575-592)¹³. Some are for opening the gates to the enemy, others wish to defend the walls (584-586)¹⁴. A woman-servant¹⁵ enters and relates the suicide of Queen Amata (595-603). There is a wailing from the Latin women, Lavinia tears her hair and disfigures her beautiful cheeks, the whole house resounds with weeping (604-607). Latinus rends his garments, casts dust on his snow-white locks (609-611) and, doubtful and hesitating to the end, cries¹⁶, in utter helplessness:

¹²Because of the difficulty of showing the portent on the stage, the poet's account of it may be related by Juturna, who can report it as just witnessed by herself.

¹³In Vergil's narrative these things do not occur in the palace. The woman-servant may be employed to relate what the poet himself has told in the Aeneid.

¹⁴The following cry of Latinus is an adaptation of Aen. 12. 610, 658.

¹⁰In Vergil's narrative this prayer is uttered at the temple. Is this true? We do not hear that Amata is even present in the scene where Latinus yields to the demand for war (7. 573-600).

coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina
quos generos vocem ego aut quae nunc me ad foedera
flectam?

From this simple exposition of Vergil's treatment of the story of Latinus it is evident that in plot and in characterization the tale meets the chief requirements of a tragedy. The action is in or near the city of Latinus, save in the scene which takes place at Ardea. The most obvious weakness of the proposed drama is in the essential nature of Latinus. Sheer futility is tragic, but so negative a quality lacks dramatic force. The wavering purpose is Euripidean, but the conventional tragic hero is hardly so lacking in self-assertion.

That a five-act drama does thus emerge from the larger story of the Trojan conquest of Latium does not necessarily imply that the poet was influenced by some existing tragedy on this theme or that he was even aware of the striking resemblances between his narrative and a drama. We may rather conclude that, in addition to a familiarity with classical drama, the poet himself had to an unusual degree that keen sense of the importance of dramatic form which we know to have characterized Greek and Roman writers in general, even prose writers of orations and of philosophical dialogues¹⁶.

VASSAR COLLEGE

CATHARINE SAUNDERS

REVIEW

Antike Technik. Sieben Vorträge von Hermann Diels. Zweite, Erweiterte Auflage, mit 78 Abbildungen, 18 Tafeln, und 1 Titelbild. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner (1920).

The author, whose life has passed the limit prescribed by the psalmist, has published several valuable works on Greek writers and Hellenic affairs, and comes well equipped for the task he has undertaken in the present instance.

The book is not intended as a general treatise, but is a collection of searching investigations of selected topics (an analogous plan is followed in some of these special investigations, some particular point being elaborated). Constant reference is made to the works of others, very many of which are of recent date. Of course, for obvious reasons, most of the authorities referred to are German, but foreign works are not ignored as such; we find French authorities cited often, and sometimes English and American, not to mention others.

¹⁶For a recent treatment of this characteristic see *Dramatic Interpretation in the Teaching of the Classics*, by Gonzalez Lodge, *Teachers College Record* 21. 217-237 (May, 1920), reprinted in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 14. 73-77, 81-85. For Vergil, reference may be made to an editorial, *The Aeneid as a Tragedy: Dido, A Latin Tragedy*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.160-170, especially to the bibliography of this theme given on page 170. and to H. O. Ryder, *A Miniature Drama: Aeneid* 1.338-368. *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 11. 175-176.

In his researches the author employs all available means of avoiding erroneous conclusions. When he is dealing with matters that lie outside of his field, he calls specialists to his aid. Especially in the preparation of models of ancient mechanisms was this care important. The results of his investigations, thus interpreted and executed by experts, are such that visitors to European collections need to be warned against the danger of being misled by totally erroneous models or 'restorations'. For instance, we learn that Napoleon appointed a philologist and a general to study the texts and construct models of the ancient 'artillery'.

Leider arbeiteten beide, die sehr eigensinnig waren, nicht gut zusammen. So sind die grossen Geschützmodelle, die noch heute im Museum St. Germain aufgestellt sind, wenig mehr als moderne Phantastiekonstruktionen.

Another instance is the model of a water clock in the Deutsches Museum in Munich, which is "äusserlich glänzend, aber innerlich völlig verfehlt".

One feature of the work deserves special commendation: it contains abundance of illustrations, many of which are photogravures. Without these the book would be like a geometry without diagrams.

The work proper consists of an address before the Marburg Philological Assembly, four lectures at the Salzburg Hochschule, an address before the Archaeological Society (in Berlin), March 4, 1913, and, finally, the substance of an address before the Prussian Academy of Sciences, July 19, 1917.

The Preface to the first edition is dated Easter, 1914, that to the second, Easter, 1919. In the first is stated the object of the work, to do something toward bringing together the antagonistic parties consisting of those who have contempt for things ancient and those who devote themselves to the study of antiquity, and to aid even the latter to a better understanding of the progress made by the ancients in things material. The author emphasizes the necessity of cooperation between the idealism of scholars and the realism of scientists and mechanicians.

An attempt to give a practically useful epitome of the work would be idle. Only so much will be said on the treatment of each topic as is necessary to convey some idea of the character of the book.

I. *Wissenschaft und Technik bei den Griechen*

Passing over prehistoric matters, the author begins with Thales and discusses concisely the theories and the achievements of Anaximander, Cleostratus, Harpalus, Mandrocles, Pythagoras, Eupalinus, Heraclitus, Hippodamus, Polycleetus, etc. The tunnel made by Eupalinus to convey water through Mt. Athos to the city of Samas is illustrated by means of a map, and by the diagram of Hero showing how the calculations were made for cutting a tunnel from both ends. There is reason to believe that Hero may have had this very tunnel in mind.